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# Message Text

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ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 W
----------004150 231654Z /44
O 231500Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2374

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 9333

EXDIS

DEPT PASS WHITE HOUSE EYES ONLY FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, JIMMY) PINT, PL
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT: DIFFERENCES WITHIN ROPCO ON ACTIVITIES DURING THE VISIT

REFS: WARSAW 9135, WARSAW 9195

1. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF A MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN ZBIGNIEW SEKULSKI, A MEMBER OF THE "LODZ FACTION" OF THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE CITIZEN (ROPCO), AND THE EMBASSY'S ASSISTANT INFORMATION OFFICER, JOHN S. WILLIAMS, WHICH TOOK PLACE IN WILLIAM'S OFFICE DECEMBER 22.

2. BEGIN TEXT. A. SEKULSKI CAME TO THE EMBASSY TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF A MEETING BETWEEN DR. BRZEZINSKI AND A ROPCO DELEGATION DURING THE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT, A SUBJECT HE HAD RAISED WITH WILLIAMS IN A CONVERSATION A WEEK EARLIER.

B. OVER THE LAST WEEKEND, SEKULSKI SAID HE AND HIS FRIEND KAROL GLOGOWSKI HAD ATTEMPTED TO ORGANIZE ROPCO PERSONALITIES AROUND THE IDEA OF A MEETING WITH
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DR. BRZEZINSKI. SEKULSKI AND GLOGOWSKI (THE "LODZ FACTION", AS SEKULSKI TERMED THEM) OBTAINED AGREEMENT FOR A WARSAW MEETING ON DECEMBER 22 WITH WARSAW ROPCO PROMINENTS MOCZULSKI, WOJCIECHOWSKI, ZIEMBINSKI, AND JANUSZ TO DISCUSS DETAILS OF SUCH A MEETING.

C. SEKULSKI SPENT THE DAY OF DECEMBER 22 SEARCHING

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FOR MOCZULSKI AND WOJCIECHOWSKI, WHO FAILED TO MATERIALIZE
AT ANY OF THE PLACES THEY HAD AGREED TO MEET. OUR CON-
VERSATION TOOK PLACE AT THE END OF THIS DAY-LONG SEARCH
AND SEKULSKI PUT FORTH TWO HYPOTHESES FOR MOCZULSKI'S
"LACK OF COOPERATION".

D. SEKULSKI SAID THAT, AFTER THE FORMAL SEGMENT OF
A ROPCO PRESS CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS DAY, DECEMBER 10,
VISIT HAD TO BE "TORPEDOED". ALTHOUGH HIS REMARKS REMAINED
"OFF THE RECORD" AS FAR AS THE PRESS-CONFERENCE PROCEED-
INGS WERE CONCERNED, MOCZULSKI TALKED AT LENGTH, SAYING
THAT GIEREK PLANNED TO LEAD CARTER DOWN THE GARDEN PATH,
SHOWING HIM HOW HAPPY THE POLES WERE, HOW THE COUNTRY WAS
PROGRESSING, AND GENERALLY ENDEAVORING TO DISSIPATE
CARTER'S CONCERN FOR THE STATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COUNTRY.
SEKULSKI SAID THAT HE KNOWS MOCZULSKI HAS CONTACTS WITH
THE RIGHTIST
OPPOSITION TO GIEREK IN THE PARTY AND
ADMINISTRATION AND THAT MOCZULSKI MAY BE PLANNING TO
MOBILIZE HIS CONSIDERABLE FOLLOWING WITHIN THE MOVEMENT,
WITH THE ACQUIESCENCE OF THE ANTI-GIEREK FACTION, TO
STAGE SOME DISTURBANCE WITHIN SIGHT OF CARTER WHICH WOULD
LEAD TO POLICE ACTION. AN EVENT OF THIS TYPE WOULD OF
COURSE DESTROY THE "ARTIFICIAL ATMOSPHERE" WITH WHICH
GIEREK HOPES TO SURROUND THE VISIT, SAID SEKULSKI, AND
WOULD POSSIBLY FORCE CARTER TO REACT TO THE INCIDENT,
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PREHAPS AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE. IN RECENT DAYS, SEKULSKI
SAID, MOCZULSKI AND ADAM WOJCIECHOWSKI HAVE FORMED A GROUP
APART FROM OTHERS IN THE MOVEMENT AND IT IS COMMONLY ASSUMED
THAT THEY ARE PLANNING SOMETHING.

E. SEKULSKI'S OTHER THEORY FOR MOCZULSKI'S NEGATIVE
REACTION TO THE IDEA OF A MEETING WITH BRZEZINSKI INVOLVES
SEKULSKI'S INCREASING ISOLATION FROM MUCH OF THE MOVEMENT'S
POLITICAL ORIENTATION. ACCORDING TO SEKULSKI, BECAUSE HE
AND GLOGOWSKI ENJOY A CONSIDERABLE FOLLOWING AMONG YOUNGER
MOVEMENT MEMBERS AND UNAFFILIATED YOUTHS, MOSTLY UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS, MOCZULSKI VIEWS THEM AS A THREAT. HAD SEKULSKI
SUCCEEDED IN SEEING BRZEZINSKI AS PART OF A MOVEMENT
DELEGATION, HE WOULD BE "UNDER AN UMBRELLA FOR A TIME,"
I.E., PROTECTED FROM ARREST.

F. POSSIBILITIES OF A SERIES OF ARRESTS AND TRIALS
OF MOVEMENT FIGURES AFTER THE CARTER VISIT ARE
WIDELY DISCUSSED WITHIN THE MEMBERSHIP, SEKULSKI SAID.
WITHOUT THE "SHIELD" OF HAVING MET WITH DR. BRZEZINSKI,
SEKULSKI THINKS HE AND GLOGOWSKI ARE IN A PARTICULARLY
PRECARIOUS POSITION. END TEXT.

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3. THIS INFORMATION HAYPBEEN MADE AVAILABLE TO THE USSS ADVANCE TEAM. THERE IS AGREEMENT HERE THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE PASSED TO THEIR POLISH OPPOSITE NUMBERS. THE USSS ADVANCE TEAM ARE CONFIDENT THAT THEIR POLISH COLLEAGUES WILL BE ABLE TO HANDLE ANYTHING OF THE SORT DESCRIBED ABOVE WHICH MIGHT OCCUR DURING THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT.

4. WE ARE PREPARING HYPOTHETICAL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S PRESS CONFERENCE AND WILL INCLUDE ONE TO COVER THE KIND OF CONTINGENCY WHICH IS RAISED BY SEKULSKI'S HYPOTHESES.
DAVIES
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NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED WHITE HOUSE.

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# Message Attributes

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**To:** STATE
**Type:** TE
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